

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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R 121920Z APR 78
FM AMEMBASSY MADRID
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4202
INFO AMEMBASSY ALGIERS
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMEMBASSY VALLETTA
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 MADRID 03925

BRUSSELS ALSO FOR USEEC
E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PINT, SP
SUBJECT: SPANISH SOCIALISTS (PSOE AND PSP) TAKE
PENULTIMATE UNITY STEP

REF: MADRID 2542

1. SUMMARY: TIerno GALVAN'S PSP, CONGRESSING APRIL 8-9
IN TORREMOLINOS (MALAGA), VOTED FOR MERGER WITH THE PSOE.
ONLY THE FORMAL UNIFICATION ACT NOW REMAINS TO BE HELD,
AND IT IS SCHEDULED TO TAKE PLACE MAY 13, AT A JOINT
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MEETING OF THE PSOE FEDERAL COMMITTEE AND PSP PERMANENT
COMMISSION IN MADRID. THE MERGER'S POTENTIAL ELECTORAL
SIGNIFICANCE IS HARD TO EXAGGERATE: IF TIerno IS ABLE
TO DELIVER MOST OF HIS ELECTORAL COALITION'S 799,376
VOTES TO THE PSOE, WHICH CAPTURED 5,240,464 VOTES OF
ITS OWN LAST JUNE, THE UNIFIED PARTY WILL BE WITHIN
STRIKING DISTANCE OF THE GOVERNING UCD (6,220,889). IT

IS TOO EARLY TO TELL WHAT IMPACT THE MERGER WILL HAVE ON PSOE DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICY POSITIONS, ALTHOUGH AT A MINIMUM THE INFUSION OF THIRD WORLD-ORIENTED PSP MEMBERS IS LIKELY TO STRENGTHEN SIMILAR TENDENCIES WITHIN THE PSOE. END SUMMARY.

2. TIerno GALVAN, BY IN EFFECT ACQUIESCING IN THE ABSORPTION OF HIS PSP BY THE PSOE, WAS SIMPLY BOWING TO THE VERDICT OF THE JUNE 1977 ELECTIONS. IN SPITE OF THE 799,376 VOTES OBTAINED BY HIS ELECTORAL COALITION (PSP-US, WHICH ALSO INVOLVED A NUMBER OF REGIONAL SOCIALIST GROUPINGS), IT GARNERED ONLY 6 LOWER HOUSE SEATS (TO THE PSOE'S 118). THE PSP-US ALSO BUILT UP A CAMPAIGN DEBT IN EXCESS OF 50 MILLION PESETAS (OVER US\$625,000). ALTHOUGH IT WAS A WRENCHING DECISION FOR MANY PSP LEADERS, INCLUDING THE "OLD PROFESSOR" HIMSELF, WHO HAD STRENUOUSLY DEFENDED PSP INDEPENDENCE AS RECENTLY AS JANUARY, HIS INSISTENCE ON THE LOGIC OF UNIFICATION CARRIED THE CONGRESS, WHICH OPTED FOR MERGER BY A VOTE OF 202 IN FAVOR, 44 OPPOSED, AND 13 ABSTENTIONS.

3. ELEMENTS OF THE MADRID, ARAGONESE, BASQUE COUNTRY, AND EXTREMADURAN DELEGATIONS REPORTEDLY MADE UP THE OPPOSITION VOTES, AND MADRID'S "EL PAIS" REPORTS APRIL 11 THAT SOME 2,000 MILITANTS FROM THOSE ORGANIZATIONS
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WILL ABANDON THE PARTY IN PROTEST. THEY ARE LIKELY TO DRIFT TO OTHER NON-PSOE LEFT OPTIONS, INCLUDING THE PCE. SOME MAY EVEN ATTEMPT TO KEEP THE PSP NAME ALIVE, BUT TIerno REPORTEDLY HAS TAKEN LEGAL STEPS TO PREVENT THE PARTY NAME FROM BEING USED BY DISSIDENTS AND, IN ANY CASE, THE PSP ALWAYS WAS THIN ON MILITANTS AND WAS ALMOST ENTIRELY THE EXTENSION OF TIerno HIMSELF.

4. THE RADICAL DRAFT DOCUMENT WHICH PURPORTEDLY DEFINED THE IDEOLOGY OF THE UNIFIED PARTY, AND WHICH WAS LEAKED TO THE PRESS IN MARCH (REFTEL), HAS NOT RESURFACED IN FINAL FORM WITH THE PSP'S DECISION. MOREOVER, PSOE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEMBERS MUGICA, SOLANA AND YANEZ HAVE PROTESTED TO US ON SEPARATE OCCASIONS THAT THE CONTROVERSIAL DOCUMENT WAS ALMOST ENTIRELY DRAFTED BY THE PSP AND WAS LEAKED BY TIerno'S PEOPLE TO QUIET MORE RADICAL ELEMENTS OF THE PSP'S BASE. IF A FINAL "IDEOLOGICAL DOCUMENT" IS PRODUCED AT ALL, THEY INSIST THAT IT WILL BE "MORE MODERN AND LESS DOCTRINAIRE." A NUMBER OF OTHER UNITY DOCUMENTS HAVE, HOWEVER, BEEN MADE PUBLIC WITH THE PSP'S DECISION, AND WE SUMMARIZE BELOW THE HIGHLIGHTS OF THOSE COMMUNIQUE:

-- THE UNIFIED PARTY WILL CALL ITSELF THE PSOE, ALTHOUGH BOTH PARTIES RECOGNIZE THAT THE BEST DENOMINATION FOR THE TOTAL OF PARTIES AND SOCIALIST COLLECTIVES THAT TAKE PART IN THE UNIFICATION PROCESS WILL BE THAT OF THE PARTY OF THE SPANISH SOCIALISTS. THE EMBLEM OF THE PSP (A DOVE AND CLENCHED FIST) WILL BECOME PART OF THE EMBLEMS OF THE PSOE.

-- ENRIQUE TIERNO GALVAN WILL BE NAMED HONORARY PRESIDENT OF THE PSOE (THIS DOES NOT AFFECT THE CONTINUING ACTIVE PRESIDENCY OF RAMON RUBIAL). TIERNO'S

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FUNCTIONS WILL BE PRIMARILY THOSE OF "IDEOLOGICAL COUNSELOR" AND REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PARTY.

-- UNTIL THE NEXT PSOE CONGRESS (WHICH PSOE LEADERS CONTINUE TO INDICATE WILL NOT TAKE PLACE UNTIL LATE THIS YEAR), A SIX-PERSON COUNCIL, FIVE OF WHOSE MEMBERS WILL BE OF THE PSP, WILL ADVISE THE HONORARY PRESIDENT,

MONITOR THE INTEGRATION PROCESS, CONTRIBUTE TO THE ELABORATION OF ANY ELECTION LISTS, AND ISSUE STATEMENTS ON OTHER QUESTIONS SUBMITTED TO IT BY THE HONORARY PRESIDENT.

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-- IN ORDER TO EFFECT UNIFICATION, THE PSP'S SECRETARIES OF INFORMATION, ORGANIZATION, INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, POLITICAL RELATIONS, LABOR AFFAIRS AND YOUTH AFFAIRS WILL WORK CLOSELY WITH THEIR COUNTERPARTS IN THE PSOE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

-- THOSE PSP MILITANTS WHO ARE MEMBERS OF THE WORKERS COMMISSIONS CAN MAINTAIN THAT AFFILIATION FOR THE TIME BEING. NEVERTHELESS, IT IS PROPOSED THAT, WHEN THE UNIFICATION PROCESS IS COMPLETED, IT BE RECOMMENDED THAT THOSE MILITANTS PASS OVER TO FEDERATIONS AND PROVINCIAL GROUPINGS WILL NEGOTIATE THE MODALITIES OF THEIR INTEGRATION. INTEGRATED EXECUTIVE COMMITTEES AT THE LOCAL, DISTRICT, PROVINCIAL AND REGIONAL LEVELS WILL CONSIST, AT A MINIMUM, OF 20 PSP MEMBERS, AND, AT A MAXIMUM, OF 40 PSP MEMBERS. EXCEPTIONS TO THIS RULE WILL BE WORKED OUT BETWEEN THE RESPECTIVE NATIONAL SECRETARIES FOR ORGANIZATION.

5. THE MERGER WILL NOW BE FORMALLY CONSUMMATED AT A JOINT MEETING ON MAY 13 IN MADRID OF THE PSOE FEDERAL COMMITTEE AND THE PSP'S PERMANENT COMMISSION. THERE MAY ALSO BE A UNIFICATION RALLY IN MADRID ON APRIL 29, AT WHICH BRANDT, MITTERAND AND SOARES MAY BE PRESENT.

6. UNIFICATION EFFECTIVELY GIVES THE PSOE 122 LOWER HOUSE DEPUTIES, BY ADDING 4 OF THE PSP-US DEPUTIES TO THE PSOE'S ORIGINAL TOTAL OF 118. THE DECISION OF THE OTHER 2 PSP-US DEPUTIES, WHO ARE MEMBERS, RESPECTIVELY, OF REGIONAL ARAGONESE AND ANDALUSIAN PARTIES, IS NOT YET CLEAR, BUT BOTH OF THOSE PARTIES CONTINUE TO RESIST INTEGRATION IN THE PSOE. LOOKING
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FURTHER AHEAD, UNIFICATION CLEARLY ADDS MEASURABLY TO THE LIKELY PSOE VOTE TOTAL IN THE NEXT GENERAL ELECTIONS. WE ASSUME THERE WILL BE DEFECTIONS FROM THE PSP TO OTHER NON-PSOE LEFT PARTIES, INCLUDING THE PCE,

AND SOME REGIONAL SOCIALIST GROUPINGS MAY ALSO CONTINUE TO CAPTURE SUPPORT IN THEIR AREAS. BUT IF TIerno IS ABLE TO DELIVER MOST OF PSP-US'S ALMOST 800,000 JUNE 1977 VOTES TO THE UNIFIED PARTY, THIS WILL PLACE THE PSOE WITHIN STRIKING DISTANCE OF THE GOVERNING UCD.

7. COMMENT: UNITY SERVES THE INTERESTS OF BOTH PARTIES, BY MEASURABLY ENHANCING THE PSOE'S ELECTORAL PROSPECTS AND SAVING THE POOR RELATIVE PSP FROM FINANCIAL -- AND PERHAPS POLITICAL -- BANKRUPTCY. IT MIGHT ALSO BE A POSITIVE CONTRIBUTION TO SPANISH POLITICS GENERALLY, BY ELIMINATING THE TEMPTATION FOR THE PSOE TO DEMONSTRATE ITS SOCIALIST CREDENTIALS BY OUTDOING, AT LEAST RHETORICALLY, THE PSP'S OFTEN ROMANTIC MARXISM. IT IS ALSO POSSIBLE, HOWEVER, THAT THE PRESENCE OF RATHER IDEOLOGICAL AND THIRD WORLD-ORIENTED PSP CADRES WITHIN THE PSOE COULD IN THE END PUSH THE PSOE LEFTWARD.

8. PSOE LEADERS INSIST CONFIDENTLY THAT THE PARTY WILL ABSORB THE MUCH SMALLER PSP WITH NO RESULTING CHANGE IN PROGRAM, EITHER DOMESTICALLY OR INTERNATIONALLY. MOREOVER, HAVING TO ABSORB THE PSP'S SUBSTANTIAL CAMPAIGN DEBT, THEY PROFESS TO BE IN NO MOOD TO OFFER ANY CONCESSIONS, PREFERING TO LET THE PSP NEWCOMERS FEND FOR THEMSELVES AT THE NEXT PSOE CONGRESS. BUT THE PSP IS LIKELY TO PROVE MORE DIFFICULT TO DIGEST THAN THAT. ALTHOUGH THE PSP LEADERSHIP IS THIN, IT IS ABLE AND INCLUDES A NUMBER OF AMBITIOUS POLITICIANS WHO ARE NOT ABOUT TO PASSIVELY ACCEPT BEING ABSORBED AS JUST SO MANY MORE "MILITANTES DE BASE" OR MIDDLE-LEVEL LABORERS IN THE TRENCHES. AT A MINIMUM, TIerno

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WILL WORK TO GIVE PSOE PRONOUNCEMENTS AND STRATEGY
WHAT HE WOULD CONSIDER GREATER IDEOLOGICAL RIGOR.

-- DOMESTICALLY, THE PSP HAS SHOWN ITSELF TO BE QUITE
TRANSACTIONAL AND THERE ARE PRECIOUS FEW VISIBLE
DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE PROGRAMS OF THE TWO PARTIES.
EVEN SO, THE PSP'S LONG-TERM ECONOMIC PRESCRIPTIONS
PROBABLY ARE CLOSER TO THOSE OF THE MORE RADICAL
PSOE ECONOMISTS, THAN THEY ARE TO THOSE OF LEADING
PSOE ECONOMIST MIGUEL BOYER, A RELATIVE MODERATE.

-- ON FOREIGN POLICY QUESTIONS, THE PRESENCE OF THIRD
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WORLD-ORIENTED PSP CADRES WITHIN THE PSOE IS LIKELY TO
STRENGTHEN SIMILAR TENDENCIES WHICH ALREADY EXIST
WITHIN THE LARGER PARTY, ALTHOUGH PSP LEADERS, FINDING
THE DOORS OF EUROPEAN SOCIALISM NOW OPEN TO THEM, MAY
MODERATE THEIR VIEWS SOMEWHAT. IN THIS CONNECTION,
IT IS INTERESTING TO NOTE THAT BOTH PARTIES HAVE
ANNOUNCED THAT THE PSOE WILL NOW TAKE THE PSP'S
PLACE WITHIN THE MEDITERRANEAN SOCIALIST CONFERENCE,
WHICH PSOE LEADERS HAVE PREVIOUSLY DESCRIBED TO US AS
AN "INSTRUMENT OF LIBYAN FOREIGN POLICY." IT REMAINS
TO BE SEEN, OF COURSE, HOW ACTIVE PSOE PARTICIPATION
IN THE CONFERENCE WILL BE. STABLER

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